



**EDUARDO FREI**  
... elected Chile chief



**SALVADOR ALLENDE**  
... defeated Socialist

## '64 Allende Loss Backed by U.S.

By Laurence Stern  
Washington Post Staff Writer

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Major intervention by the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department helped to defeat Socialist Salvador Allende in the 1964 election for president of Chile, according to knowledgeable official sources.

American corporate and governmental involvement against Allende's successful candidacy in 1970 has been the controversial focus of a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee investigation into the activities of U.S. multinational companies abroad.

But the previously undisclosed scale of American support for Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei against Allende six years earlier makes the events of 1970 seem "like a tea party," according to one former intelligence official deeply involved in the 1964 effort. Up to \$20 million in U.S. funds reportedly were involved, and as many as 100 U.S. personnel.

The story of the American campaign, early in the Johnson administration, to prevent the first Marxist government from coming to power by constitutional means in the Western Hemisphere was pieced together from the accounts of officials who participated in the actions and policies of that period.

Cold war theology lingered, and the shock of Fidel Castro's seizure of power in Cuba was still reverberating in Washington. "No more Fidels" was the guide-

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# U.S. Backed Defeat Of Allende in 1964

CIA, From A1

post of American foreign policy in Latin America under the Alliance for Progress Washington's romantic zest for political engagement in the Third World has not yet been dimmed by the inconclusive agonies of the Vietnamese war.

"U.S. government intervention in Chile in 1964 was blatant and almost obscene," said one strategically placed intelligence officer at the time. "We were shipping people off right and left, mainly State Department but also CIA with all sorts of covers."

One of the key figures in the 1964 intervention was Cord Meyer Jr., the redoubtable Cold War liberal. He directed the CIA's covert programs to neutralize Communist influence in important opinion-molding sectors such as trade unions, farmer and peasant organizations, student activists and communication media.

At least one conduit for CIA money, the International Development Foundation, was employed in the 1964 campaign to subsidize Chilean peasant organizations, according to a former official who was responsible for monitoring assistance to Chile from the Agency for International Development.

One former member of the IDF board, who quit when he discovered it was financed by the CIA, said: "Some of us had suspected for a long time that the foundation was subsidized by the agency. Then it finally surfaced, and it was

impossible to continue serving on it. Nonetheless, what they were doing was consonant with President Kennedy's policies in the alliance — political development."

The foundation is still in existence, although its CIA funding was terminated. It now is financed by AID appropriations.

Covert financing was arranged for a newspaper friendly to the political interests of Christian Democrat Frei. "The layout was magnificent. The photographs were superb. It was a Madison Avenue product far above the standards of Chilean publications," recalled another State Department veteran of the campaign.

One former high-ranking diplomat said CIA operations at the time were bypassing the ambassador's office, despite the 1962 Kennedy letter issued by the late President after the Bay of Pigs debacle in Cuba. The letter designated ambassadors as the primary authority for all U.S. operations within their countries.

"I remember discovering one operation within my last week of service in Chile that I didn't know about. The boys in the back room told me it was 'deep cover' and I told them: 'You guys were supposed to tell me everything,'" the former diplomat reminisced.

As the 1964 election campaign unfolded in Chile, the American intelligence and diplomatic establishments were divided from within over whether to support

Frei or a more conservative candidate, Sen. Julio Duran.

CIA's traditional line organization, centered in the Western Hemisphere division and working through the traditional station chief structure, favored Duran initially. So did then Ambassador Charles Cole and the bulk of top State Department opinion. The remaining Kennedy administration policymakers, on the other hand, leaned toward Frei and the "democratic left" coalition he represented. So, reportedly, did the CIA's Cord Meyer.

"For a while, we were at war among ourselves on the question of who to support," recalled a participant in those events.

Duran dropped from consideration when he lost an important by-election to the Communists, and gradually the entire thrust of American support went to Frei.

"The State Department maintained a facade of neutrality and proclaimed it from time to time," according to one source who played an important Washington role in inter-American policy at the time of the

election.

"Individual officers — an economic counselor or a political counselor — would look for opportunities. And where it was a question of passing money, forming a newspaper or community development program, the operational people would do the work.

"AID found itself suddenly overstaffed, looking around for peasant groups or projects for slum dwellers," he recalled. "Once you established a policy of building support among peasant groups, government workers and trade unions, the strategies fell into place."

A former U.S. ambassador to Chile has privately estimated that the far-flung covert program in Frei's behalf cost about \$20 million. In contrast, the figure that emerged in Senate hearings as the amount ITT was willing to spend in 1970 to defeat Allende was \$1 million.

The number of "special personnel" dispatched at various stages of the campaign to Chile from Washington and other posts was calculated by one key Latin American policy maker at the time as being in the range of 100.

AID funds alone were substantially increased for the year of the crucial election. The first program loan in Latin America, a \$40 million general economic development grant, was approved to buoy the Chilean economy as the election approached.



# Two Slain in Chile On Day of Arrest

## Writer Held

The accompanying story by Joseph Novitski about the apparent summary execution of two Chileans was withheld from publication by Washington Post editors for two days because of threats against Novitski made by Chilean officials in Santiago.

The threats were never specific, but it is known that the government prepared an expulsion decree against Novitski last June. The decree has never been put into effect.

On Saturday, Novitski was told by security officials that he was under house arrest. He was ordered not to make any efforts to gather news or to transmit news stories to Washington. The house arrest was lifted Saturday night, and Novitski was told that he was free to pursue his profession in accordance with the credentials issued by the Chilean government.

The government officials in Santiago never made clear that it was the accompanying story that prompted them to send agents to Novitski's apartment Friday and then place him under house arrest Saturday. But, in response to questions, officials indicated the story was the cause for the actions, which were ordered at a high level. The story is based on Chilean court documents.

See CHILE, A21, Col. 1

## Leftists Dead

By Joseph Novitski

Special to The Washington Post

SANTIAGO, Chile, Aug. 29 (Delayed)—Two men arrested two weeks ago in a small Chilean town near Santiago died the day they were detained, each with one bullet in his head, according to the records of the Santiago Court of Appeals.

The court, in two recent decisions, agreed to extend a form of judicial protection to the widows and daughters of the dead men, both of whom were members of Marxist political parties that had supported the late President Salvador Allende.

The court action, agreeing to consider a plea to prevent any arrest order for the widows, put on public record what appear to have been the first summary executions in many months in Chile.

It is understood that military authorities have ordered an investigation into the deaths, but neither the court decisions nor any announcement of an investigation has been published in Chilean newspapers.

The military junta that overthrew Allende, a Socialist, last September, prohibited summary executions early this year.

As far as is known, none of

See SANTIAGO, A20, Col. 1

## Writer Held, Threatened By Chileans

CHILE, From A1

Novitski reports that the Chilean security men who dealt with him personally over the last two days went out of their way to be courteous and helpful given the circumstances. Novitski was permitted to telephone The Washington Post and the U.S. embassy in Santiago whenever he wished. An U.S. embassy official stayed with him most of the last 48 hours.

When the Post protested Novitski's treatment to the Chilean ambassador in Washington Saturday evening, Ambassador Walter Heitmann said he knew nothing of the case, but expressed no concern over Novitski's house arrest saying that the reporter had been warned before for writing "misleading" articles.

The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) subsidiary in Santiago refused to transmit Novitski's story about the executions. The subsidiary's manager cited a Chilean government decree that makes managers or telecommunications officers potentially responsible for any news story they transmit that the government says is detrimental to Chile's image in the world. Later being refused by RCA Novitski dictated his story to Washington by telephone.

# 2 Chileans Slain After Detention

SANTIAGO, From A1

the death sentences handed down by courts martial has been carried out since Feb. 13, while nine death sentences for political offenses have been commuted by military commanders during that period.

However, Dr. Hector Garcia, a 50-year-old physician and member of the Socialist Party, and Ruben Lamich, a 48-year-old contractor and member of the Communist Party, died in custody according to the cases heard by the appeals court.

The two men, according to file that bear docket numbers 967-74 and 980-74, were detained separately Aug. 13, in Buin, a semirural town just south of Santiago. Their bodies were returned to their families through the Santiago morgue on Aug. 14 and Aug. 15.

On petition by the widows of the two men, the appeals court agreed last week to ask military and police authorities if there are any orders to arrest the women or their children. There has been no answer yet.

Maria Garcia, the doctor's widow, told the court that her husband had been detained at the Buin hospital, where he worked. She said he had been interrogated briefly, in her presence, shortly before dawn on the same day, when eight men in civilian clothes and two uniformed policemen came to the Garcia home in a police car.

Dr. Garcia's death certificate, cited in the petition, gave the time of his death as 10:30 a.m. Aug. 13, a little more than an hour after he was detained. Mrs. Garcia told the court that at about the same time, an army officer at the regimental base at San Bernardo told a lawyer and a friend of the family that the regiment knew nothing of Garcia's arrest.

Mrs. Garcia said her brother, Candido Garcia was called to the Buin police station Aug. 14 and told that Dr. Garcia was dead. Garcia was given the doctor's identification papers. Later that day he

located the doctor's body in the Santiago morgue.

The autopsy report, cited in the court record declared that Dr. Garcia died as a result of one bullet wound in the forehead. It also mentioned bruises on his arms and legs and a cut on his jaw.

The court of appeals has limited access to the record of the petition for protection from arrest made by Mrs. Lamich, the widow of the dead contractor. However, court sources reported that the record showed he had been arrested on the same day in Buin and had died as a result of one shot in the head. The secretary of the court said the court had agreed to consider Mrs. Lamich's plea and had ordered the minister of the interior, who is head of the plainclothes police in Chile, and the commander of the Santiago military garrison, which has jurisdiction over Buin, to report whether any arrest order has been issued for Mrs. Lamich.

If an arrest order has been issued for either Mrs. Garcia or Mrs. Lamich, the court will consider issuing a preventive writ of habeas corpus, which would enjoin authorities not to arrest the women or their children. Some wives of political supporters of President Allende have been detained in the 11 months since he was overthrown. Minors have also been detained for political offenses.

Of the 1,008 habeas corpus petitions considered this year by the appeals court here, all but one of those entered on behalf of people detained for political reasons have been turned down.

The one writ that was granted, in the case of a 14-year-old boy, was overturned by the Supreme Court after it had heard arguments from the Ministry of Interior that the boy had been a member of the Communist Party Youth and an active supporter of Allende's government. He is still detained.



# Chile May Free Some Prisoners

By Joseph Noirtaki

Washington Post Foreign Service

SANTIAGO, Chile, Sept. 1—Gen. Augusto Pinochet, president of the Chilean military junta and chief of state, hinted today that his government is considering freeing some of its several thousand political prisoners.

The indication was contained in a conciliatory answer to the plea made last week by the leaders of Chile's four largest religious denominations for an end to some of the repressive measures in effect for almost a year since the military overthrew President Salvador Allende and ended his Marxist government.

Gen. Pinochet's moderate answer to the leaders of Chile's Roman Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans and Jews was published today on the front page of the government-owned newspaper La Patria.

The exchange of letters came at a time when informed sources concerned with the

rights of prisoners in Chile, both in and out of government, have been reporting that the military junta was considering freeing and deporting some of the best-known supporters of President Allende who have been held since shortly after the military coup last Sept. 11.

Gen. Pinochet, a career infantry officer, has scheduled a press conference for Wednesday and might choose the occasion to announce the measure.

In his letter to the churchmen, he said: "I believe it is necessary to remind you that, moved by the sincere spirit of justice and the profound desire of the government over which I preside to bring peace to all Chileans, and on its own initiative, a study of concrete measures that could benefit certain persons affected by the juridical norms governing the emergency we are living through, has been ordered," Gen. Pinochet said.

Gen. Pinochet thanked the religious leaders for their letter and their concern for peace in Chile. He said the government shared that concern. The moderate tone of the general's letter was in marked contrast to press attacks that followed the publication of the letter Friday.

Four bishops—two Roman Catholics, and two Protestants—and the grand rabbi of Chile asked Pinochet to consider freedom for some detainees, to end the state of war that now permits the trial of political cases by military courts, and to permit civilian courts to review all sentences handed down by military courts since last September. Gen. Pinochet's answer did not discuss the last two requests.

Gen. Pinochet said the government would have to proceed with caution and weigh national security considerations in taking the religious leaders' suggestions. He also said that those affected by repressive measures are a small minority of Chileans.

About 6,000 men and women are estimated to be under detention for political reasons. It is believed that tens of thousands have been detained at one time or another. The population of Chile is just over 9 million.